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Leo XIII. and Anglican Orders

THE PROPER GIFT
OF THE
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY
AND
THE SACRAMENTAL MODE OF ITS
TRANSMISSION

BY

✓
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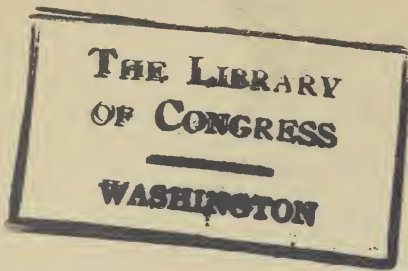
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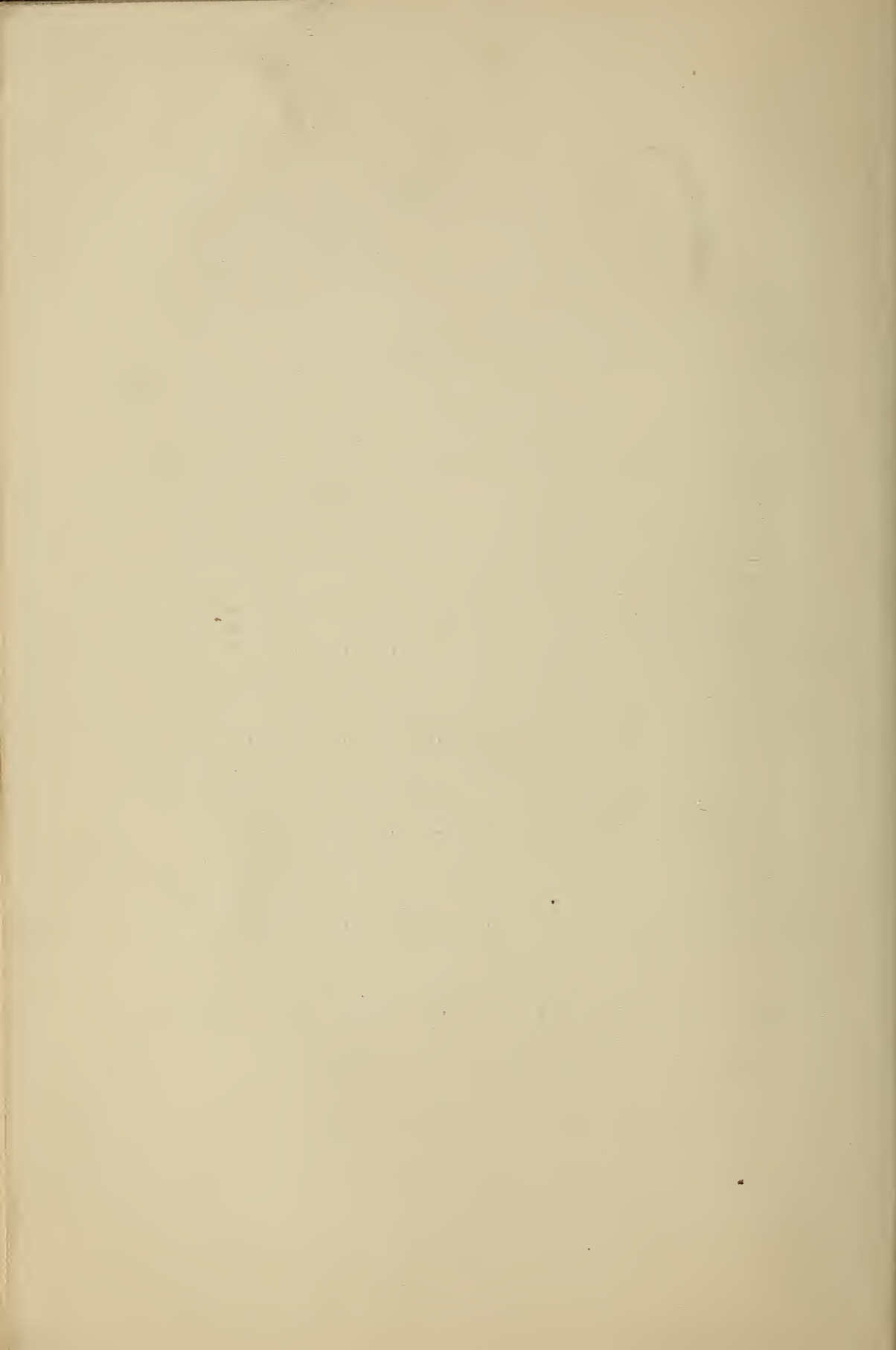
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TO THE
REV. R. B. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., LL.D.
WARDEN OF S. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE,
THIS REVIEW OF THE ORDINAL,
MADE AT HIS REQUEST,
IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

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LEO XIII. AND ANGLICAN ORDERS.

I.

ON RITES AND CEREMONIES.

BEYOND the fact of the institution of the two great Sacraments of the Evangelical Dispensation, we have no fixed order of Rites and Ceremonies prescribed for the use of the Church. The reason for this we have not to go far to seek. Had our Lord Himself put the stamp of His divine authority upon things of secondary importance, they must of necessity have remained fixed under all changes of times and circumstances, without regard to peculiarities of taste and temperament among different races and conditions of men.

There was an additional reason why it was not expedient at the first to establish an order of ritual for the infant Church. A Jew, ac-

according to the flesh, Jesus did not attempt to break away from all the traditions of the past: He came, as he tells us, not to destroy but to fulfil; He aimed, not to abolish, but to transform. Instead of destroying that which had already been established, His custom was to plant the germ of the new order of things in the soil which had been providentially provided for it, and leave it there to assimilate by virtue of its own formative instinct, whatever was of permanent value in the dispensation ready to perish.

How much the great Head of the Church saw fit to communicate to the Apostles, when He spoke to them, during the forty days after His resurrection from the dead, of "the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3), we know not. But of this we may be sure, that the "glory" of the new dispensation was not in this respect inferior to the old, when Moses for forty days was taken up into the Mount, and had revealed to Him the images of the things which, in process of time, are to reach their fulfilment under the economy of the Holy Ghost.

In dealing with the mystery of sacramental grace, we have always to bear in mind that, in themselves, words are mere counters, liable to change as differentiation takes place, giving to them, instead of the more general, a technical and specific meaning. This is true of the words "Rites" and "Ceremonies": they have a common or general use; and a technical and specific use, a thing to be kept steadily in view in dealing with the subject now under consideration.

Our Lord Himself, as we have seen, told His Disciples when He instituted the two great Sacraments generally necessary to salvation, what they were to do, but He did not lay down any positive rule as to the way they were to do it. We find, accordingly, that in dealing with the two great sacramental rites of the Incarnation, the Church has seen fit to order that it is necessary, as far as possible, to preserve intact both the matter and the form of the original institution. The matter of Baptism is water according to divine institution: the form of words, the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy

Ghost. For a like reason, bread and wine are to be used in the Holy Eucharist as the matter of the rite; and we are to use the same manual acts, and, as far as possible, in the act of consecration, the same words which our Lord Himself made use of in instituting the rite. If these provisions, for any sufficient reason, cannot be carried out in the letter, they must at least in substance be recognized as necessary to the proper form of the Sacrament. Reverence, not less than regard to the authority which of necessity belongs to the words and acts of the Son of God, requires all this at our hands.

In addition to the matter and form of the Sacrament, there are also ceremonial adjuncts which demand consideration. It is nothing more than meet and right that holy things should have holy places set apart for them. There are associations connected with every sacramental rite, which crave expression in conformity with the mystery that is represented sacramentally to our view. In addition to the use of water in Baptism, as of the

essential matter of the rite, it was the custom to use oil and salt to represent the calling of the baptized to be the salt of the earth, and the light of the world. But it is always to be borne in mind that these ceremonial accompaniments, intended to add dignity and to give significance to the rite, neither increased by addition, nor took away by diminution, from the essential character of the Sacrament. "The promise of Grace is not made to accidental ceremonies but to essential ones," Bellarmine, on the *Sacrament of Order* (ch. ix), rightly says.

There never has been any question, in like manner, that in the rite of Ordination the only two things, absolutely necessary to the validity of the rite, are the laying on of hands, after the manner of the Apostles, and the invocation of the Holy Ghost. The one corresponds to the matter, the other to the form of the rite. The hand, as the instrument of conveyance, is of the matter of the rite, consisting as it does of the transmission of that which had been received by the Apostles, and their successors for the carrying on

of the work of the Ministry; the invocation of the Holy Ghost is of the form of the rite, for it belongs to the Holy Ghost, in His relation to the economy of the Church, to take of the things of Christ and give them unto us.

There is a difference, it is true, between the two Sacramental rites, through which is conveyed the grace of the Incarnation, and the rites which belong to the economy of the Holy Ghost, but the latter no less than the former, have an indelible character, which, as we shall see hereafter, separate them from all common uses. The breathing upon the Apostles when after His resurrection, Jesus met with them and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; whose soever sins ye retain they are retained" (John xx. 21, 22), was manifestly of the nature of a Sacramental Act, differing in kind from the promise given to Peter to bind and loose before the Resurrection (Matt. xvi. 19). The act of breathing was an outward and visible sign of the gift of the Holy Spirit to the whole body of the Apostles, proceeding from the risen Lord, now de-

clared to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead.¹ The Twelve before the resurrection had been separated and trained as "Apostles designate": Now that He is about to be taken away from them, Jesus sends them forth, as He had been sent by the Father, to supply His visible presence among men.

If such be the august nature of the rite of Ordination, it is surely to be expected that, as in the case of other Sacramental Rites, it shall be celebrated with ceremonial observances worthy of its high dignity. One of the earliest of these ceremonial adjuncts was the placing of the Book of the Gospels on the head of a Bishop, when set apart to his sacred office.

¹ "The breath, *πνεῦμα*, is The Spirit which the Lord an emblem of the Spirit (John now imparted to them was iii. 8), and by 'breathing,' as His Spirit, or, as it may be S. Augustine observes, the expressed, the Spirit as dwelling in Him. By this He first was not the Spirit of the quickened them, and then sent, Father only, but also His according to His promise, the own. This act is described as Paraclete to be with them and one (*ἐνεφύσησεν*) and not repeated. The gift was once to supply all power for the exercise of their functions."—for all not to individuals, but Westcott.
to the abiding body. . . .

What symbol could be more significant than the four-fold representation of our Lord's own life and ministry, given by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost for the instruction and guidance of the Church!

But these and like ceremonial acts, it is ever to be remembered, have nothing to do with the essence of the rite: they do not, be they less or be they more, affect the validity of the rite when duly performed by the laying on of hands, and the invocation of the Holy Ghost. And yet they are not altogether without meaning and significance: while not of the essence of the Rite, they have their value as signs of investiture and induction into office.

Investiture, as a token of entrance upon a new condition of life, was a time-honoured custom, among the Greeks, and Romans, as well as among the ancient Hebrews. The assumption of the *toga virilis* was kept as a festival and celebrated by festal rites among the Romans. The putting on of the philosopher's gown was preceded by the taking of a bath, and was looked upon in the light of en-

tering upon the office of a teacher of philosophy with a feeling amounting to religious devotion. The candidate for knighthood in the middle ages was solemnly invested with the consecrated weapons of his warfare before entering upon his high calling. So was it also in religion. Ordination was looked upon, not only as a sacred rite, but partook of the nature of an induction into office. The Deacon received for his use the *ripidion* or Sacred Fan, to guard against the approach of insect life to the sacred species. The Priest was invested with a stole, corresponding to the yoke of the ox in preparing the ground for the casting in of the seed. In course of time, these ceremonial adjuncts were increased or altered, according to the varying tastes of East or West, North or South. While the ritual act itself remained fixed as to matter and form, the ceremonial investiture, symbolizing the induction into office, was changed, without affecting the validity of the rite itself.

All this seems simple and plain enough: and yet we know as a matter of fact that it is constantly forgotten, not only in the affairs of

ordinary life, but also in religion. We have a notable example of this in the way a ceremonial custom, intended at the first to symbolize induction into office, came to be declared as of the essence of the Rite of Ordination, to the confounding of the difference between essential and non-essential, of Ordination as a sacramental act bestowing grace, and induction into office for a particular purpose.

It grew to be a custom at Rome in Ordination for the Pope to give the new Priest the vestments to be used in the celebration of the Mass, and the instruments of his office, gold or silver; and for a procession to be made by the people of the parish, accompanied by the Pope and the parish Priest, as a conclusion of the ceremony. It was a fitting and impressive mode of induction into office, in entire accordance with the manners and customs of the age when it was first introduced. But as time went on, what had at the first been intended to serve the purpose of a ceremonial induction into office, came to be regarded, upon doctrinal grounds, as an essential part of the rite itself. Euge-

nus IV. (1431-1447) ignorant, or forgetful, of the difference between the ceremonial adjunct, and the rite itself properly so-called, declared the "porrectio instrumentorum" to be of the *essence* of the Rite, notwithstanding that the Council of Florence over which Eugenius presided, acknowledged the orders of the Greek Church, conferred without the giving of the paten and the chalice, to be valid orders.

The immediate result of this decree of Eugenius IV. was to introduce confusion and disorder into the Ordinal of the Western Church. The question arose, when does the Ordination take effect? Is it at the beginning of the rite, when, after the laying of hands silently, the hands are extended and the invocation is made, or is it at the conclusion of the Rite, when the "porrectio instrumentorum" takes place, and the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, etc., with the power to remit sins, is uttered? To maintain the former would be to contradict Eugenius IV. : to assert the latter, is to affirm that the laying on of hands and the invocation of the Holy Ghost, do not constitute the matter and the form of Ordination.

The only way out of the difficulty was to divide the action into two parts, making the first to consist in the laying on of hands and the invocation for the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the second, in the giving of the power to sacrifice and forgive sins, as defining the function of the Priesthood.

But the end was not yet. When Morinus, converted by Cardinal du Perron to the Roman Church, was called by Urban VIII. in 1639 to Rome to assist the congregation appointed to assimilate the creeds and rituals of the East, to the Roman rites, it was found, after an exhaustive examination, that the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* of the Roman Ordinal had no existence prior to the fourth century; and the "traditio instrumentorum," declared by Eugenius IV. to be of the essence of the rite, had no recognition, in either East or West, until after the tenth century. The conclusion to be drawn was that for one thousand years there had been no Priesthood in either Eastern or Western Christendom. It was a conclusion from which there could be no escape, except by way of retreat. "Forced to

it," Morinus says, "the schoolmen have at last betaken themselves to imposition of hands, which alone the ancient Fathers and all the ancient Rituals, both Greek and Latin, acknowledge." (*De Sac. Ord.*, pt. iii, ex. 2, ch. i, § 2.)

The learned Benedictine, Martene, of the congregation of S. Maur (1654), in his *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus* arrived at the same conclusion: "Since it cannot be said that the delivery of the instruments are of the matter of ordination to the Presbyterate, it follows," he says, "that the essence of it is in the imposition of the hands and the prayers that follow after. . . . This alone the Orientals, this alone the ancient Fathers, this alone (Holy) Scriptures acknowledge." (Lib. i, ch. viii, art. ix, sec. 18.) The ground thus taken by Morinus and Martene has been accepted by the leading authorities of the Roman Communion, was adopted with one or two reservations by the Council of Trent,¹ and

¹ The Council of Trent and form of the Sacrament: (Sess. xxiii.) does not define it confines itself to anathematizing those who deny that the

is generally admitted at the present day as beyond dispute.

It would appear then—and this is the first point of our contention—that the Church at Rome according to the testimony of its own chosen and accredited witnesses, in utter disregard of Catholic tradition, and in defiance of the fundamental difference between rites and ceremonies as such, incorporated into the Ordinal of the Western Church, and made part and parcel of the constituent elements of the Rite of Ordination, a ceremonial custom unknown to the universal Church, before the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It would appear, moreover, that at the very time when the Eastern Church was engaged in seeking to reconcile the differences between Constantinople and Rome, Eugenius IV. in his celebrated letter to the Armenians, notwithstanding the fact that the Council of Florence over which he presided received without question the orders of the Eastern Church by imposition of

words *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, “the ceremonies of order” etc., do not confer the are not necessary to be ob- gift of the Holy Ghost, and served (Can. iv, v).

hands and the invocation of the Holy Ghost, declared that the Roman addition of the giving and taking of the chalice and paten must be regarded as part of the matter and form of ordination, and of the *essence* of the Sacrament.

And it appears, as the result of this declaration, that the Roman See is not only open to the imputation of insincerity in its dealings with the Eastern Church at the time, even as it is open to the same charge in opening negotiations with the Anglican Church at the present time, but it is liable to the still more serious charge of making its own act in the laying on of hands invalid by placing the person ordained in the position of one who is still to be made the recipient of additional powers, not provided for in the Apostolic Rite of Ordination.

The truth is that the Roman Ordinal, as it now stands, is an aggregation of parts, consisting (1) of the original Apostolic rite of imposition of hands and prayer of invocation, which sufficed for over one thousand years, (2) of the mediæval ceremony of the "Porrectio," or presentation of the vessels, originally a

formula of induction, and (3) of a new imposition of hands in connection with the prayer *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, etc., by way of appendix or supplement to the whole. We have then (1) a silent imposition of hands, (2) an imposition of hands with a prayer of invocation, (3) another imposition of hands associated with the giving of the sacred vessels, and the power to forgive sins, as a special mark and sign of the priesthood. These diverse elements have been gathered together at different times, without any attempt to mould them into a consistent whole. All this is to be kept in mind as bearing upon the question of the Revision of the English Ordinal, and the results ultimately arrived at in the Prayer Book of 1662.

The thing to which, at this stage of our argument, I desire to invite special attention, is the practical substitution of a Rite of its own, to take the place of the Apostolic and universal Rite; and the making of a Roman ceremony to be of the essence of the Sacrament of Order, by declaring that it belonged to the matter and form of Ordination.

II.

THE SACRAMENT OF ORDER.

IT is beyond all question that the gift conferred upon the Apostles, when our Lord, after His resurrection from the dead, "breathed" upon them, was a supernatural gift; nor can it for a moment be doubted, that in breathing upon them, He intended to impart to them, sacramentally of His own fulness, and make them thereby partakers of His own incarnate life. We must discriminate here between the gift of inbreathing, whereby our Lord, as Head of His body the Church, brings the Twelve Apostles into corporate union with Himself; and the gift of the Holy Ghost, bestowed upon the whole body of the faithful, assembled with the Apostles, in one place, in prayer and supplication, on the day of Pentecost. "The relation of the Paschal to the Pentecostal gift, is the re-

lation of quickening to endowing. The one answers to the power of the resurrection; and the other to the power of the Ascension (Godet); the one to victory—the other to sovereignty.”¹ In the original the gift is described as one and not to be repeated. A gift made once for all, “not to individuals but to the abiding body.” The Apostolate, in other words, after the Ascension of the Head into heaven, is to take the place of Christ Himself in the world. As we are accustomed to say in legal phrase that “a corporation never dies,” but has an existence of its own after the individuals composing it shall have passed away; so the Apostles, after the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, came into the possession of a corporate life of which Jesus as the God-man, the second Adam, is the Fountain and the Source. The Apostolic Ministry, accordingly, lives on by virtue of the power of a corporate life, after the Twelve have passed away, perpetuating in the world, and imparting to others, sacramentally, by the laying on of hands, the same Spirit by which Jesus was

¹ Westcott,

declared to be the Son of God with power, after His resurrection from the dead.

Now, it is this imparting to others that which had been already, in the act of inbreathing, received, which makes Ordination in the true meaning of the word a sacramental act; and that in three ways more especially: (1) As our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the great Head of the Church, took upon Him the form of a servant, so He consecrated the service of others, done in His Name, to be a sacramental channel for keeping alive and perpetuating His own Ministry in the world. Charity, in the Christian meaning of the word, is something different from philanthropy: not self-glorification, but self-abasement is of the essence of a good deed done in the Name, and for the sake, of Christ. As the Head of the Body, in coming into the world, first humbled Himself, that He might without offence minister to the poor and needy, so the Church in carrying on the work of our Lord's Ministry has made provision that there shall always be perpetuated an order of men "full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," whose duty it shall be to minister in

her behalf to others, in the Spirit of her Lord and Master.

(2) Nor is it only in stooping to save that Jesus has set us an example that we should walk in His steps. In coming into the world, He not only took our flesh upon Him, but He placed His own will absolutely at the disposal of His Father's will. He gave up that which as a Son He had a right, as a matter of justice to claim, and He took the place of a slave. He became sin for us, died as slaves died, and was crucified as a malefactor. He endured poverty, hunger, thirst, shame, sorrow, pain, desertion, the hiding of His Father's face, and the pangs of death. And why? In order that He might constitute Himself to be an High Priest, to make intercession to God for us. He allowed Himself to be tempted, that He might learn how to succour them that are tempted. Almighty, yet He put Himself for our sakes in our place, that He might make the world, with all its load of sin and suffering and trial, a divinely appointed sphere where a new order of supernatural virtues may be called into existence, in which self is willing

to be made a sacrifice, giving up that which it has the right to claim, if there may be created thereby another self, strong to bear the weaknesses and infirmities of others, and minister comfort to the broken and contrite heart. Now it is this mystery of voluntary suffering for others' sake that is represented in the second order of the Ministry, one of whose chief functions is to absolve the penitent and deal tenderly with the broken-hearted. The world questions its existence, and pretends to doubt its power, and yet it has itself acknowledged the virtue of its claims, in the saying, "Fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind!"

(3) As Joseph, under the Old Testament, was taken from prison and from judgment, and raised to sit upon a throne, so Jesus, after His condemnation by Pontius Pilate, had given to Him a name above every name, that at His name every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father (Phil. ii. 8-10). It is this lordship over all

things for His body's sake which is the Church, that finds sacramental expression in the over-seership which gives to the Episcopate the first rank in the hierarchy of Order.

But whatever the variety of administration, or the distinction of office, it is the same Holy Spirit of the Word Incarnate which makes the work of the Ministry in its three-fold order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons effectual for the accomplishing of the end for which it was created. There is not one kind of grace needed for the Diaconate, another for the Priesthood, another for the Episcopate. The Deacon, in serving the poor, needs quite as much the gift of the Holy Spirit that he may minister charity in the spirit of his Divine Master, as the Bishop in ruling over others needs the same grace that he may not play the part of "lord over God's heritage" (1 Pet. v. 3). The Priest in absolution needs the same grace that he may not only afford relief to the conscience, but minister comfort to the heart. The specific work to be done is one thing, the power by virtue of which the person is to do the work, another and a different thing. It is

this *power* which is, sacramentally, conveyed in the gift of order.

The Twelve, as the representatives of the twelve tribes of the ancient Israel, were first of all separated, and by special training fitted, to discharge the duties of the Apostolic Ministry: after the resurrection they were made partakers of the same Holy Spirit by virtue of which Jesus had been raised again from the dead, to enable them to perform the duties to which they had been appointed.

The Church of the living God, accordingly, is not in figure, nor in word only, the Body of Christ. It is His own Divine creation formed by His taking flesh of the Virgin Mary, and made to be in His own earthly ministry the archetypal germ of all ministry for His name's sake. Declared to be the Son of God, with power, after His resurrection from the dead, the same Jesus has sacramentally incorporated Himself with the body which before the resurrection He had formed for Himself, by imparting to it of His own risen and supernatural life. He dwells in it, and acts through it by the

power of the Spirit breathed into it, so that "the gates of hell cannot prevail against it." This is what we mean in the Creed by the procession from the Father and the Son. It is the same Holy Spirit who at the first by His quickening agency gave effect to the Word by which the world that then was, began to assume order and form and beauty, that in the new creation after the Word by whom all things were made had formed the nucleus of the Christian Church out of the remnant of the old dispensation, took possession of it, and made it to be that which we see it to be in the Acts of the Apostles—a living body, quickened and animated by the consciousness of an indwelling supernatural life, working wonders, and doing miracles by the power of the Holy Ghost.

If nature, as we call it, be not a congeries of atoms, nor a mere system of organic law, but as the Greeks long ago believed it to be, a living force which in spring-time, and summer, and harvest, manifests itself in tree, and shrub, and flower, covering the earth with beauty, and filling the world with music in

brake, and glade, and forest, why should it be thought a thing incredible that the same Spirit in a still higher and more glorious order of creaturehood, can, by the creative energy of the same eternal Logos, put forth in the form of a new creature, born again after the image of Him that created it, a moral and spiritual world of saintliness and self-consecration which, in due season, will "make the wilderness rejoice and blossom as the rose"?

In the new creation, as in the old, we are bound to recognize the power and presence of the One in Three, co-operating one with another and indissolubly bound together in working towards the same end. Deep calleth unto deep: Creation to Redemption. As in the beginning God the Father, the sphere of whose manifestation is the economy of nature, brought all things into being through the eternal Logos—the archetype and first-born of every creature, by the quickening and operative agency of the Holy Ghost: so is it also in the new creation, in which the Son manifests the Father not as power, but as goodness, walking the earth in the form of a man. Here

too the eternal Logos appears as the sent of the Father, whose will He comes to carry into effect by calling into being a new order of Sonship, like unto His own, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, whose it is in the new creation, as in the old, to impart productive energy to each living thing, and enable it to bring forth fruit after its kind.

Nor have we yet sounded to its depth the mystery of the Sacrament of Order. In the everlasting Godhead there is not only a co-operation of will, but each person, in addition to the relation which he bears to the others, has that which is proper to Himself. The Father from whom all things proceed manifests Himself in Nature; the Son in Redemption; the Holy Ghost in the economy of the Church. The third person, equally with the first, and the second, has His own sphere, which is proper to Himself. It is not by accident that we join together in the Creed our confession of belief in the Holy Ghost and the Holy Catholic Church. Baptism needs to be supplemented by Confirmation and the laying on of hands for the bestowal of the gift of the Holy

Ghost. As in nature it is not enough to receive the gift of life and be born into the world, but the life needs to be educated and trained by the help of teachers and governors for the development of the reason and the education of the heart; so is it also in the economy of grace, it is the work of the Holy Spirit, through the Church, to educate and train the new life given in Baptism by the agency of Pastors, and Teachers, and Governors until it advances to perfection.

Nor does the work of the Holy Ghost end with the education and training of the individual. It is His work also to carry on in the world the work which Christ in His Ministry on earth begun. And in doing this He adds that which is proper to Himself to the works of the Father and the Son. When we read in the New Testament that the Holy Ghost was not yet, because the Son was not glorified (John vii. 39), it is not meant that the Holy Ghost did not speak through the Prophets, but that the Holy Ghost waited for the entrance of Christ into the heavenly places before He undertook, in His own proper character, to carry on to its

completion the work which Jesus had begun. He waited until the day of Pentecost, and then He came like the rushing of a mighty wind, in the form of fiery tongues separating themselves, and giving not to the Apostles only, but to the whole body of Disciples gathered together, power to preach in every language the wonderful works of God. This is that baptism of fire spoken of by Jesus to His Disciples which, in addition to the baptism of water, is needed for the cleansing and purifying of the Church. The gift of Pentecost is that foretold by the prophet Joel (ii. 28, 29) in the words, "And it shall come to pass afterward, *that* I shall pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the handmaidens in those days will I pour out my Spirit."

We find, accordingly, that in addition to the regularly organized Ministry of which Christ in His Incarnation was the Archetype, in its three grades of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop,

there appears in the New Testament after the day of Pentecost a more widely extended Ministry of Prophets, Teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities, tongues (1 Cor. xii, 28). This is that Ministry of charismatic gifts, peculiar to the economy of the Holy Ghost, intended not to supplant, but to supplement, the work of the organic Ministry; and, as we shall have occasion to see, formed the nucleus of the Minor Orders which, under one form or another, both East and West, have existed at all times in the Church; and are to be recognized as a remnant of the Pentecostal gift given as a reward of victory to aid in the carrying forward the work which Christ in His Ministry on earth had begun. It is worthy of note that in the original, where the gift of the Spirit after the resurrection by breathing upon the Apostles is mentioned, it is without the defining article; whereas when the Holy Spirit appears in His own proper character on the day of Pentecost, it is with the article.

Confirmation and Ordination belong equally to the economy of the Holy Spirit: they have

a sacramental character of their own, differing from the two great sacraments of the Incarnation. As Confirmation supplements the rite of baptism by the superadded gift of the Holy Spirit to educate and train, through the agency of the Church, the life given in Baptism, so in Ordination, the Holy Spirit is given to carry on and complete the Ministry of Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King by the bestowal of the whole fulness of the Godhead to quicken, not only the organic Ministry to do its appointed work, but to sanctify the natural gifts of the whole body of the faithful, to aid in the extension of the Kingdom of heaven in the world.

III.

THE THREE ORDERS OF THE MINISTRY.

The Diaconate.

THE growth and development of the Christian Ministry, from the original stem of the Apostolate, furnishes us with a good illustration of the difference between the logical and chronological order of ideas. It will be observed, then, that the chronological order of the Ministry is in the inverse ratio of its logical order. It has always been a vexed question, whether the seven men first set apart by the Apostles to the work of the Ministry were Deacons, in the later and technical meaning of the word. The answer to the question is that names have at first a general, afterwards a technical meaning, when differentiation takes place.¹ The mistake made is in thinking that

¹ “The sum of the matter is are formed, new words are not this: Though new institutions coined for them, but old ones

the Church in its development moved along the lines of some previously devised scheme or plan, given by its Divine founder, and not, according to the law of all other organic bodies, by way of growth and development, under the conditions of time and experience. The primitive Church had thrown upon it—one could wish the same were true of the Church

borrowed and applied. *Ἐπί-βιοπος*, whose general idea is overseer, was a word in use long before Christianity; a word of universal relation to economical, civil, military, naval, judicial and religious matters. This word was assumed to denote the governing and presiding persons of the Church, as *Διάκονος* (another word of vulgar and diffused use) to denote the ministerial.

“The Presbyters therefore, while the Apostles lived, were *Ἐπίσκοποι*, overseers. But the Apostles in foresight of their approaching martyrdom having selected and appointed their successors in the several cities and communities as S. Paul did *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, and *Titus* at *Crete*, A.D. 64,

four years before his death; their modesty, as it seems, made them refuse it: they would keep that name proper and sacred to the first *extraordinary* messengers of Christ, though they really succeeded them in their office, in due part and measure, as the *ordinary* governors of the Churches.

“It was agreed, therefore, over all Christendom at once, in the very next generation, after the Apostles, to assign and appropriate to them the word *Ἐπίσκοπος*, or Bishop. From that time to this that appellation, which before included a Presbyter, has been restrained to a superior order.” Bentley, *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Freethinking*, pp. 136, 137.

now—the distribution of money, and the care of temporal affairs in providing for the flock, to an extent far beyond anything we have any conception of at the present time. It was the custom then—one could wish it were the custom now—for rich men to bring their money and lay it at the Apostles' feet. Under the distress of the times, occasioned by the passing away of the elder economy, men began to realize in a living way that there is such a thing as laying up "treasure in heaven." If, as the prophet says, there is "a bag with holes," as many a man who puts his money away in a bank, instead of spending it in good works, before being called to his account, is now-a-days finding out to his cost, so the Christians of the Apostolic age found that the best thing to do with money is to give it to the poor and needy, and so lay up treasure in heaven. The Apostles, oppressed by the temporal burdens they were called upon to bear, determined, accordingly, to create an order of men, noted for their honesty and good sense, and capacity for wise administration, in order that they might have more time to give to the

care of the worship of the Church, and the ministration of the Word: *i. e.*, to the adaptation of the Word, under the form of Creed, and Gospel, and Catechetical Instruction, to the needs of the growing Church. But this separation of the Diaconate as a Ministry of serving, did not exclude the seven from preaching and baptizing, as in the case of Philip the Evangelist. The Deacons, when the time comes for them to be recognized as an Order, appear as attendants upon Bishops, and helpers in matters of administration.

The Diaconate of the early Church was, as an Order, of far more account than it is at present, in any part of the Church, East or West. In Rome, the Deacon had the oversight of the ecclesiastical divisions of the city, and was the recognized man of affairs in connection with the temporalities of the Church. Next to the Bishop himself, he was the most influential man in the city of Rome. When Gregory the Great was made a Deacon, he was sent to Constantinople, in the character of a plenipotentiary or representative (*apocrisarius*), by Benedict I. Pelagius II. uses him

afterwards in the same capacity, when he wants to urge the Emperor to send help to Rome against the Lombards, both in money and men, since the Exarch at Ravenna had become powerless to assist. We see the same thing at Alexandria, in the time of John the Almoner. The Church had a fleet of ships which provided corn for the poor and the desolate cast upon her care. There were not less than a hundred Deacons constantly employed in connection with the Cathedral Church; they had, all the time, more than enough to do in the work of ministration. The number seven marked the Diaconate as in an especial sense the Ministry of the Holy Ghost, through whose agency the Church made her light shine before the world, in relieving the necessities of the poor, and ministering comfort to the widow and the orphan; and the Deacons did all this, not in the form of benefactors or patrons, dispensing in a lofty way their dole of charity, but as consecrated persons anointed by the Holy Ghost to do in the form of servants, as their Lord and Master did it before them, to the sick and needy members of His Body the

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Church. It was Christ's hands which, in an order of men created for that very purpose, ministered to the wants of a world suffering from famine, and pestilence, and war.¹

¹ The form for making a Deacon in the Greek Church expresses all this and more, in the prayer which precedes and closes the act of Imposition of Hands. *The Bishop laying his hand on the head of the new-ordained saith this prayer* : " O Lord our God, who in thy prescience dost pour out the abundance of Thy Holy Spirit upon those whom Thou dost set apart by Thine inscrutable power for Thy Ministry, and to wait on Thy spotless mysteries; preserve in all things honest him whom Thou hast now been pleased to promote by me to the office of a Deacon ; that he may hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. Give him the grace which Thou didst impart to the proto-martyr Stephen first called by Thee to this work of the Ministry ; and grant him to fulfil this office vouchsafed unto him by Thy goodness according to Thy good pleasure ; for they who use this office well purchase to themselves a good degree ; and make Thy servant perfect. For Thine is the Kingdom," etc.

Then "*The Ectene being finished, the Bishop lays his hand upon the head of the new-ordained and saith this prayer in a low voice* : O God our Saviour, who by Thine everlasting Word didst appoint the order of Deacons to the Apostles, and didst call Thy proto-martyr Stephen to be the first to fulfil the office of a Deacon, as it is written in Thy Holy Gospel ; if any desire to be chief among you let him be your Minister. Grant, O Lord, to this Thy servant, whom Thou hast been pleased to appoint to this Ministry, the aid of Thy holy and life-giving Spirit ; and replenish him with faith and charity, with virtue and holiness ; for not by the imposition of my hands, but by the abundance of Thy mercies is grace vouch-

The Priesthood.

We have seen that, when the needs of the Church required it, the Apostles transferred to others that which, at the first, had been concentrated in their own persons. In so doing, they did not create new offices, but shared with select persons that which they had hitherto exclusively possessed. As they had already, to meet a pressing necessity, set apart " honest men of good report " to attend to the distribution of the money which had been placed

safed unto those who are worthy of Thee. Grant therefore that he being freed from all sin may stand unblamably before Thee, and obtain Thy promised reward, for," etc.

I shall add the Rubric with which the service is brought to a conclusion for the purpose of illustrating in a practical way the difference between the Ritual Act consisting of the laying on of hands and prayer, and the ceremonial accessories to the Act. "After Amen. The Bishop taking the Orarion puts it on his left shoulder,

and saith in a loud voice worthy ; then those within the Altar sing worthy thrice ; and each chorus repeats worthy thrice. Then the Bishop gives him the Epimanikia (or sleeves) and saith worthy ; which is sung in the same manner as before by those within the Altar, and by the choruses without. The Bishop then gives him the fan and saith, worthy ; which is again repeated as before. After which he kisses the Bishop's shoulders and waiteth at the Holy Table."

in their charge, to provide for the wants of the poor and suffering; so when the time came for the multitude of disciples to be gathered into separate congregations, the Apostles gave to men known to rule their own households well, a share in the power which they had reserved to themselves of attending to "the prayers" and "the ministry of the word."

The first mention made of a localized Ministry is in Acts xi. 30, where the Elders at Jerusalem are mentioned as receiving, at the hands of Barnabas and Saul, the money sent from Antioch for the relief of the famine which at that time prevailed in Judea. Some time after, when the same two Apostles set out on their missionary journey throughout Asia Minor, they followed the example of Jerusalem and "ordained them elders in every Church" (Acts xiv. 23). It would appear to have been the uniform practice of the Apostles at this time wherever they found any number of converts congregated together, to appoint Elders to take the oversight of the flock, still holding in their own hands the care of the churches they had planted. Thus S. Paul sends for the

Presbyters of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus, and exhorts them to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers. It is not until after the year 64 that we find Presbyters and Deacons recognized, as distinct orders in Philippians and the Pastoral Epistles. This was the second step towards permanent Church organization.

The Apostles, while they lived, watched over the churches which they had established. The Episcopate still slept in the Apostolate. James, on account of his blood relationship to our Lord, was acknowledged as head of the Church at Jerusalem. S. Paul before he is taken away delegates to Timothy at Ephesus, and to Titus at Crete, authority over the churches there. Titus is left at Crete to ordain Elders (Tit. i. 5), and Timothy is told to lay hands suddenly on no man. He is not to be hasty to receive accusations against an Elder; mindful of his youth, he is not to rebuke an Elder, but to entreat him as a father (1 Tim. vi. 1). The Apostolic delegate has begun to assume the function of a Bishop in the technical meaning of the word.

From this time forth the chronological order gives place to the logical order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The conclusion reached, I shall take the liberty of stating in the words of another:

“ Until Christ gave commission to His Apostles to go forth and to teach, and to gather into His Church from ‘all nations’ and languages, and peoples, He continued in His own person all the offices of that Church, without any to partake with Him in the Ministry, the Priesthood, or the overseership. He was the ‘Bishop’ of all souls in that Church, from whom all Bishops derive their office of rulers. He was the great High Priest, the typical and germinal Priest of His Church, from whom every Priest derives his office. He was the Deacon of His Church, who came for this very end, to be the Deacon or Minister of the Church; that is, He came not to be ministered unto—for none could minister unless they derived power from Him—but He came to minister and *to give this Ministry as He gave His life for others*, since He came as much to minister as to ransom. He thus not so much cen-

tered in His own person the whole official life of the Church as He was the essential life itself, the source from which the official life of the Church springs, for He did not gather up life into His own person, but He was the light and life in the concrete. He then is not only the 'chief' corner-stone, the protection of the Church, He is its one foundation stone, Bishop, Priest and Deacon: And when He breathed on His Apostles and sent them forth in His Name, He gave them the power to be the outward presentment of Himself. When the needs of the Church required it His Apostles did not create new offices, but they gave up a portion of that which they had hitherto exclusively possessed, and which was concentrated in their own persons. That they might no longer be distracted from their higher duties by the necessity of serving tables, but might give themselves up to the oversight of the flock, they conferred on chosen men the power which they themselves possessed of ministering to that flock. When the growth of the Church demanded it, they gave to others a share in the office of Priests of Christ's Church. By ordi-

nation and the laying on of hands, they conferred this power. But no one can confer that which he does not himself possess. The means, moreover, by which that power is conferred, the stretching, the laying on of hands, is also symbolical of the reality of the gift of which the Giver has the whole in His own power, and which he therefore is able to give to others; not that the higher has power to confer the lower because it is lower, but because he himself possesses that lower office which he confers. The Apostles therefore continued to be that which their Lord had become; that which He had made them to be, the Deacons of His flock, the Priests of His Church, the Bishops of His people; conferring indeed on others, yet, without stripping themselves of any ministerial grace, or creating any higher office in order to supply the defects of the lower. In a word the Church was 'developed not from below but from above.'¹ Nay, more, the three-fold Ministry embodies, and sets forth visibly before the eyes of men, the unseen mystery of the eternal Three in

¹ Denton on the *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. ci, cii.

their work for the salvation of men : the eternal Father, the fountain of jurisdiction in the sending of the Son, has his representative in the Bishop who still remains the foundation of jurisdiction in the Church ; the eternal Son, who in the offering of His Body constituted Himself a Priest for men, has His counterpart in the Priest who serves the altar, and has power to pardon the penitent ; the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, is manifested in the seven-fold Diaconate, whose work it is to bestow gifts, and so make the light of the Gospel shine throughout the world, that men may be led to glorify their Father which is in Heaven.

The Episcopate.

The question whether the Bishopric is to be accounted a third order of the Ministry, or is to be reckoned only as a different grade of the Priesthood, is in reality a figment of the schools, the answer to which depends entirely upon the point of view from which we approach the consideration of the subject. It is beyond all

dispute that, in the order of the hierarchy, the Bishop ranks only as a Priest of a higher grade; but in the sacrament of order, on the other hand, we have not to do, only or chiefly, with the order of the Priesthood, but with the perpetuation of our Lord's own Ministry in *all the plenitude of its powers*, to the end of time. The subject in hand is not the abstract question of what constitutes the *sacerdotium*, or the relation which Priest and Bishop bear each to the other as Priests; but the concrete question of the Apostolate, as the divinely appointed channel for the transmission of the grace, which flows through the work and ministry of the incarnate Lord as the sent of God for the salvation of the world. From the point of view of the perpetuation of the succession of the Ministry, it remains true that the Episcopal *order* is not a higher grade of the second order, but is the first or chief order, through which the other two orders of the Ministry are to be perpetuated. The Episcopate accordingly has an indelible character of its own, not given to either the Diaconate or to the Presbyterate. It belongs to the order of Bishops to perpetu-

ate the succession of the Ministry, and with it the authority to rule: to the Presbyter belongs neither the power to ordain nor has he *jure divino*, an inherent right to govern, but is to obey his Bishop as "sent of the Father." If we may, without intruding into things beyond our mortal ken, be allowed so to speak, we may venture to say that the Episcopate, as containing all the other orders within itself, is the representative of the principle of the *moral* unity which binds the three orders of the Ministry together, even as the eternal Father is the representative of the unity of the everlasting Godhead. He is the source from which the Godhead of the Son originates by way of generation, as that of the Holy Ghost by way of procession. It is this aspect of the Episcopate as the representative of the principle of moral unity, which appears in the Ignatian Epistles.

If, then, there be anything of a sacramental nature in the three orders of the Ministry established by the Apostles, and acknowledged before the close of the second century by the whole Church throughout the world—by what

right, it is fair to ask, does the Roman Church take upon itself to invalidate the authority of the Episcopate by turning it into a grade of the Priesthood, and substituting in its place the Sub-diaconate which, until the time of Innocent III., had never been recognized as an order of Ministry in the sacramental meaning of the word? It is a question which I shall leave others to answer, whether the Latin Church, by its introduction of a grade of Ministry which does not properly belong to the three orders ordered by Christ and His Apostles into the hierarchy of order, has not laid itself open to the charge of breach of trust of the most serious kind. Nor is it difficult to see how the innovation, gradually, but surely came about.

It will be found upon examination that, as the result of the teaching of the Schoolmen, a new order of Ministry silently sprung up alongside the three orders of the Apostolate during the Middle Ages. It became the custom, after the ceremonial of the Mass received additions in order to give greater dignity to the rite, for the celebrant to be assisted by

two clerks, known respectively as Deacon and Sub-deacon, performing different functions of a higher and lower grade.¹ While the Church of England preserving the Apostolic tradition knows only one degree below the Priesthood, "the order of Deacons," the Roman Communion recognizes two major orders inferior to Priests—Deacons and Sub-deacons—the four minor orders of Exorcist, Reader, Acolyte, and Janitor being placed in a different grade. By the introduction of the Sub-diaconate, after the Council of Beneventum in 1091, into the hierarchy of order, and its recognition by Innocent the Third, there was thus created a triple Ministry of worship, which soon demanded recognition as of Divine institution, not less than the three-fold order of the Ministry established by the Apostles themselves.

We have now found out the solution of the addition to the ordinal, made at this time in the West. Why should there be a double laying on of hands in the Roman rite different from the Greek rite, and from the Anglo-Saxon rite, up to the twelfth century? How

¹ Eager, *The Christian Ministry in the New Testament*, ch. iv.

can the same person be, at the same time, an *ordinatus* and an *ordinandus*? What reason can be given for regarding the Apostolic rite of laying on of hands and the invocation of the Holy Ghost which takes place in the early part of the rite, incomplete, until the newly invented ceremony of the "Porrectio" has taken place, and the additional power given to offer Masses for the living and dead, with a new invocation and a new laying on of hands, have taken effect? If we consult Roman authorities we find that S. Bonaventura, Morinus, Goar, Tournely, Perrone are of the opinion that the essential matter and form of the Rite consists in the imposition of hands and the invocation; Capreolus, Vasques, Dominicus Soto, Gonet maintain with Eugenius IV. that the essential matter and form are to be found in the delivery of the instruments, and the accompanying form with the laying on of hands; Bellarmine holds to the theory of a "double partial matter" and a "double partial form." The whole subject is discussed by the learned Dominican Billuart in his *Cursus Theologiæ juxta Mentem D. Thomæ* (1746-

51), who, after stating the various opinions held by men of repute, arrives at the conclusion that, since in Confirmation and the Sacrament of Order Christ gave no specific direction as to the matter and form of the Sacrament, He left it open to the Greek Church to adopt one form of Ordination, and the Latin Church another (*sic*), as they might think reasonable and find most expedient (vol. III, *Trac. de Sac. Ord.*, diss. ii, art. 1).

But there is another and a better answer, based not upon theory but fact. There grew up in connection with the scholastic doctrine of the Priesthood and the Sacrament of the Altar an entirely new order of Ministry, which, insensibly to the actors themselves, increased in importance until it took the place in the popular mind of the hierarchy of order, as previously established by Apostolic authority. It grew in popular estimation by being continually kept before the eyes of the people in every parish Church; and by the introduction of the "Porrectio" into the ordinal, it secured at length from Eugenius IV. the recognition of a popular ceremony; not as a symbol of in-

duction into office according to its original intent, but as of the very essence of the Rite. To make the process of the substitution of the new invention of the Schoolmen for the original function of the Apostles complete, it was necessary to provide that there should be another imposition of hands and another act of invocation before the ordination should be regarded as a *fait accompli*.

It will be observed that we have in the accomplishing of all this both a violation of fundamental principles, and a setting aside of well-established rules of order. The Sub-diaconate now made part and parcel of the higher orders of the Ministry, for the first time in the twelfth century, takes the place vacated by the Episcopate under the scholastic theory of orders: and to what end? To make way for putting in its place one invested with absolute power, who to complete the confusion is not able, as not included in the organic Ministry, to transmit to others the office which he has himself usurped, except through the Episcopate which he was created to destroy.

IV.

THE MINOR ORDERS.

THE Minor orders of the early Church were a survival of the Pentecostal Gift. There was a difference, from the very first, between the organic Ministry transmitted by the laying on of hands, and a more widely extended ministry of Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, Helps of many kinds, each, according to their several ability, contributing his gift towards the edification of the Church. The organic Ministry, as we have seen, took the place of our Lord Himself in His threefold capacity of Prophet, Priest, and King. But in addition to the gift of the Spirit received by inbreathing, and as formative principle transmitted through the channel of the organic Ministry, the Church on the day of Pentecost received the Gift of the Holy Spirit, not as an indwelling principle of organic life, but in the form of

charismatic gifts bestowed upon the whole body of believers, and distributed to each member of the body according to his ability to receive. It is a mistake to imagine that these charismatic gifts ceased with the Pentecostal Age. They still continued, under another form, in all lay persons who formally consecrated their gifts to the service of God and His Church, in preference to wasting them in secular occupations for the sake of worldly gain. They were recognized by the whole Church under the name of the Minor Orders of the Ministry.

It is due to the Roman Church to say she took the lead, in the third century, in organizing these relics of the Pentecostal Age into an effective and closely combined order of the second rank. It is, as Harnack in his late valuable essay on the *Sources of the Apostolic Canons* does not hesitate to say, "a striking witness of the way in which the Roman Church understood how to overcome the dangers which still always threatened her from a dead organization of the Church, to build up her

episcopal-presbyterian constitution," and to adopt the religious and civil elements of Roman life. The Church created thereby a nursery for the higher order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and out of the perishing remnants of the Pentecostal Age formed a training school for the Ministry of the most valuable kind. One has only to think of the modern Sexton ("the maker of the dead man's bed") combining, in addition to his lucrative employment of undertaker, the whole five grades of the lower orders of the Ministry; or the parish choir, made up of opera singers and strolling theatrical performers, not to wish that the services of the Minor orders of Ministry in the Church were again in the hands of persons who had some marks of consecration for their office.

Fabian, in the middle of the third century, was the first of the Roman Bishops, Harnack tells us, to break with the Pentecostal idea of the number seven as representing the economy of the Holy Ghost; but he did this in a way not to shock the traditional feeling of the Church. Instead of creating fourteen

Deacons to attend to the fourteen divisions of the city, he appointed seven sub-deacons to assist the seven Deacons, and so “in deference to Holy Scripture the number seven was not increased.”

The effect of this change, adopted at the first for the purpose of convenience, and wisely so, was not at the time foreseen. It resulted, as we have seen in the previous chapter, in the taking of the sub-diaconate out of the grade of the lower orders where it had formerly stood, and where it still remains in the Greek Church, and made it to be a stepping-stone to the higher orders of the Hierarchy.

For this Innocent III., and not Fabian, was to blame, but it points a moral to which I desire to call attention at this stage of our inquiry. To say that the Latin Church possesses in a peculiar degree, above either the Greek Church or the old British Church, the secret of organization is only to say that she inherits the great gift of the Roman people; but while the gift of order is in itself a most admirable thing, its virtue depends on the use that is made of it, and whether, in mat-

ters affecting the order and ritual of the Church, it be of God's making or of man's making. When it is proposed, as we have seen it proposed in the last chapter, to substitute a theory of the Schoolmen for the teaching of Holy Scripture and the witness of the primitive Church, on the subject of the Episcopate; when the attempt is made to foist into the ordinal, with the view of giving practical effect to the substitution of the order of worship for the hierarchy of order, a ceremony which had no place there for a thousand years; when an order which, according to the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, has never received imposition of hands, is given a place in the hierarchy of order, to countenance the notion that the Episcopate is not an order with an indelible character of its own; when, as a consequence of these things, confusion and intermixture are introduced into the ordinal so that the wit of man cannot any longer discover where the act of ordination properly begins or ends—can it be questioned that the time had come for the Episcopate, as an order, to stand upon the defensive, and for the

attempt to be made to restore the ordinal again to something like its original harmony and unity of idea ?

Things had come to such a pass that it had ceased to be a question about Rites and Ceremonies. It was a contention for the original constitution of the Church and the Faith once delivered to the Saints. Fortunately we possess in the *Apostolical Constitutions* and the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua* the rule of the Church, East and West, at the close of the fourth century, both as defining the relative position of the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and the exclusion of the Sub-diaconate from the hierarchy of order. The rule for the Western Church as laid down in the ancient collection of Canons, known as the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, is as follows :—

First. When a Bishop is ordained, let two Bishops lay and hold the Book of the Gospels upon his head and neck, and one saying the blessing over him, let the other Bishops who are present touch his head. (Can. II.)

Second. When a Presbyter is ordained, while the Bishop is blessing him and holding his

hand upon his head, all the Presbyters shall hold their hands in conjunction with the hand of the Bishop on his head. (Can. III.)

Third. When a Deacon is ordained, let the Bishop who blesses him alone put his hand upon his head, because he is set apart (*consecratur*) not to the Priesthood, but to the office of the Ministry. (Can. IV.)

Fourth. When a Sub-deacon is ordained, inasmuch as he does not receive imposition of hands, let him receive from the hands of the Bishop the empty paten and the empty chalice; moreover, let him receive from the hand of the Archdeacon a Ewer (*urceolus*), the Mantle,¹ and the Manutergium. (Can. V.)

Now, these Canons prove indisputably that the law of the Western Church at the close of the fourth century recognizes (1) the existence of three orders, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as constituting the hierarchy of order; (2) they bear witness to the fact that the laying on of hands accompanied by the invocation of the

¹ On the reading here see Maskell's note in his *Monumenta Hefele, History of the Councils and Rituals*, vol. III, p. 411; and 183.

Holy Ghost . was the sacramental channel through which these higher orders were transmitted; (3) they place the Sub-diaconate among the Minor or lower orders on the ground that it does not receive imposition of hands, but is inducted by the presentation of the paten and chalice; thus making a difference between the Ritual act (properly so called) as of the essence of the rite, and the Ceremonial act of induction to a special duty, not regarded as an official act.

By what authority was the Sub-diaconate taken out of the category of the lower orders of the Ministry, and elevated by Innocent III. into the hierarchy of order? It was an innovation, but an innovation with a purpose. It moved the Priesthood up a step, and placed it in the first grade; the Deacon appears not as the minister of the Bishop, but as associated with a subordinate, who is to assist him in waiting upon the Priest. In other words, to carry out the Scholastic idea of the Priesthood as supreme, the order of worship consisting of Priest, Deacon, and Sub-deacon is substituted for the Apostolic Ministry of Bishops, Priests,

and Deacons. The Revolution is complete. Let us now see the result as it affects the discipline and lives of the Clergy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The most enthusiastic admirer of the Middle Ages cannot ignore the decline which took place in the Western Church, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is marked by the neglect of preaching on the part of the Priesthood, and the growth of the temporal power of the Papacy, culminating in the Babylonian exile and the Great Schism. Lucius III., and the Council of Verona (1184), resisted the attempt made by Peter Waldo (1179) to establish an order of poor preachers; and invoked the aid of the secular arm to put down by force the growing spirit of reform. The Dominicans and Franciscans undertook the work of revival. Grosstete, in England, bewails the secularized condition of the Clergy; and calls to his aid the preaching friars to instruct the poor and ignorant.

With the preaching friars and their work there is no fault to find; but whatever their

value, it remains true that they were a human invention utilized by the Papacy, now advancing into power over the legitimate claims of the Episcopate, to do the work which properly belonged to the organic ministry of the Church.

It is at this time the conflict between the Seculars and the Regulars, with its shameful consequences, begins to run its course. The Church is like a household divided against itself. The Monks are allowed to take the place of the parish clergy; they hear confessions and preach indulgences. Abbots begin to assume the mitre, and confront the Bishops everywhere, denying their claims to jurisdiction. The struggle for precedence enters the Universities, where the Popes take the side of the Monks against the regularly constituted authorities. It was the Dominicans who were chiefly responsible for the crusade against the Albigenses. The spirit of the Revolution which had begun in the substitution of the Priesthood for the Episcopate, and the placing of the Minor order of the Sub-diaconate on the same footing as the three regular orders of the Ministry, now reveals itself in the com-

bination between Innocent the Third urged on by the Dominicans, and Simon de Montfort to destroy by force the one institution of the Middle Ages to which we owe all that is noblest and best in modern society—the institution of chivalry.

What Innocent, by the aid of the Dominicans and the secular arm accomplished in southern France, he attempted to do in England. He took sides with the King to nullify the effect of the declaration of rights in the Magna Charta, the great bulwark of English liberty. Nor did the spirit of the Revolution end here. It sought foreign fields of conquest. Unable to get the Eastern Church to surrender its legitimate claims, Innocent joined with the Crusaders to drive the Greek Metropolitans from their thrones, and lent the aid of the Church in the West to found the Latin Empire of Constantinople, when a drunken soldiery made a harlot entertain them by rehearsing ribald songs, and performing indecent dances, before the high altar of S. Sophia; and a Venetian Patriarch was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople.

Abroad and at home, piracy and plunder followed in the footsteps of the Revolution. Honorius III. (1216-1227), the successor of Innocent III., claimed the right of presentation to two prebendal stalls in every Cathedral in England. Gregory IX. (1231) forbade the Bishops to appoint to English benefices until he had made provision for the Roman See. The Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln were ordered to find benefices for three hundred foreigners, not able to speak a word of the English tongue. When Grosstete refused to be made the tool of Innocent IV. by promoting his nephew to a canonry in Lincoln, and took occasion to remind the Pope that "no sin can be more adverse to the doctrine of the Apostles, more abominable to Jesus Christ, or more hurtful to mankind than to defraud and rob those souls which ought to be the object of the pastoral care and instruction, which by the Scriptures they ought to enjoy," he was laughed at for his pains, and consigned to obscurity for the rest of his life.

The only deliverance which the Church of England could hope for to free her from the

far-reaching Revolution, which had overthrown the legitimate authority of the Episcopate throughout the world, was to go to the root of the evil and demand that the ordinal should be revised, and restored to its original condition, by virtue of which the constitution of the Church, in the three orders of the Ministry as established by the Apostles, should be recognized, the mediæval patch of the “ Porrectio ” taken out of the way, and this we shall find, in dealing with the revision of the ordinal, she before long proceeded to do.

V.

THE DOCTRINE OF INTENTION.

AMONG the things which the nation and people of England find it hard to understand is the art of deception. Blunt to a fault, the Englishman despises finesse, diplomacy, double-dealing—anything and everything that is open to the charge of trickery or deceit. It is for this reason that he loathes a Jesuit, and regards with disfavour the writings of Liguori and his satellites. He is accustomed to think of casuistry as falsehood made a fine art; and has his doubts about the confessional as anything more than medicine for sick people; not intended to be taken at all times, as a steady diet. It may be that the English allow their prejudices, in favour of honesty and truth, to run away with them; and do not make allowance, as they should, for the moral obliquity which, to a

greater or less degree, seems to be characteristic of the Celtic and Italian races, leading them occasionally to try their hands at steering their way between downright falsehood and inventing the truth.

It is this prepossession in favour of fair dealing, especially in matters of religion, which makes it difficult for the English mind to take in what is meant by "intention." It is a word that does not properly belong to the Saxon tongue, and is of the nature of an importation from a foreign source. It is difficult to imagine that anybody should, in religion, say or do anything that he did not really intend to do or say. We can understand how abroad, and especially at Rome, that the insinuation of doing, in religion, what would be regarded as an evasion unworthy of a gentleman in the affairs of ordinary life, is not made with the intention of giving offence, but is said in good faith, as something recognized by the Church of Rome in dealing with her own children. As it is a matter of contention among ultramontanists themselves whether the

oracle of the Vatican gives its response in accordance with facts as they are presented to it, or utters its voice from the depth of its own inner consciousness, we shall in this case give it the benefit of a doubt, and conclude that it is not, after all, the voice of Leo XIII., but an echo from a nearer shore, that is responsible for the utterance evidently based upon an entire misconception of the "intention" of the framers of the English ordinal.

Whatever be the strained interpretation of the doctrine of "intention" to be found in casuistical writers of the Liguorian type, it never could have been the mind of the Catholic Church to lay down, as a principle, that the validity of a sacramental rite can ever be held to depend upon the meaning which the administrator reads into his own act; provided he duly performs, according to the mind of the Church, the function which, as her Minister, he has been empowered to fulfil. There are cases where the Early Church might seem to have strained a point in upholding the doctrine that the grace of the sacrament depends upon the intention of the Minister of the rite, as in

the matter (if it be true) of Athanasius, playing at baptism when he was a boy. No one imagines for a moment that the mock rites of Michael the Dipsomaniac, in his drunken revels in Constantinople, were valid ordinations. Nor can it be granted that any ordinations, outside of the Sacrament of order, are valid any more than in any other Sacramental rite where there is neither proper matter nor proper form. But if there be both matter and form—the old Nag's head fable being put out of court as no longer tenable—then, to challenge the validity of Anglican orders on the ground of “intention,” is to argue either schismatical pravity after the fashion of the Donatists, or to betray an entire ignorance of the fundamental principles of Canon Law. No one, it is held for granted, takes seriously the modern Roman fad of re-baptizing converts from the Anglican Church; nor is it possible to imagine that the late pronunciamento entitled “*Apostolicæ Curæ*” had any other origin than that of misconception, based upon misrepresentation of the real merits of the case. The fault found with the revisers of the Anglican

ordinal, evidently, is not lack of intention, for nothing could be plainer than that the intention was to restore the Episcopate to the place it originally held in the hierarchy of order—this is openly declared and reiterated, again and again—and in doing so, to make union with Rome forever impossible, except on condition of its recognition of the three orders of the Ministry, as handed down from the Apostles, to be the only valid form of Church organization. The Council of Trent, while it is afraid to express itself with clearness on the subject, is forced to acknowledge this, and may fairly be claimed as not in sympathy with the late declaration.

It is equally plain that the office of the Priesthood provided for is not the type of Priesthood which the Church of Rome in her tampering with the ordinal has tried to introduce into the teaching of the Catholic Church. It is a Priesthood which, in its approach to the mystery of the Christian sacrifice, is taught to discriminate between the *Sacramentum*, the *res Sacramenti*, and the *virtus Sacramenti*, and offer worship to the Three Persons of the

Ever-blessed Trinity in the relation which they bear, each to the other, in Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification. The Priest who ministers at the altar is not supposed to be of the order of Aaron offering a bloody victim, but in the line of Melchizedek, without father and without mother, by the virtue of the power of an endless life. It is not contact with the lamb once slain he seeks to effect, “*sensualiter* ;” nor does he propose “*non solum sacramento sed in veritate* to handle with his hands, bruise, and grind with his teeth, the Body and Blood of Christ,”¹ as the Roman Church in the time of Innocent II. (1059) compelled Berengar of Tours, under penalty of death, to affirm to be his belief; but, in the spirit of the Eastern Liturgies, “rendering thanks to the Creator of the Universe, to eat the bread offered with thanksgiving and prayer over the things offered, which becometh, for the pray-

¹ “Panem et vinum . . . sacramento sed in veritate, post consecrationem, non solum, sacramentum, sed etiam frangi, et fidelium dentibus verum corpus et sanguinem atteri.”—Robertson, *History Domini nostri Jesu Christi of the Christian Church*, vol. iv, p. 361.

er's sake, a certain Holy Body, which halloweth those who use the same for a holy purpose."

It was the deliberate "intention" of the Revisers of the Ordinal to reject from it the carpocratian notion of physical contact with the Body and Blood of Christ, declared in the words just quoted to be the doctrine of the Roman Church. That with this "intention" it should be charged that the Anglican Church, in the office headed "The Form and Manner of Ordering Priests," is using words intended to deceive, is to be interpreted only as meaning that she rejects the notion of Priesthood and Sacrifice, held by the Roman Church, as a fond invention of the Aristotelian philosophy, and puts in its place the doctrine of S. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews. Du Pin, in the fourth volume of his *History of the Christian Church* (pp. 174-5), puts the question at issue so clearly, that I cannot do better than quote his own words: "The manner of handling the Christian Religion and its mysteries has not always been uniform in the Church. It has changed at different times, according to the

different circumstances, or different inclinations of men. The Apostles were contented to teach the doctrines they had learned from Jesus Christ with simplicity. The holy Fathers and Ecclesiastical Authors who lived in the first ages of the Church, did not enlarge upon the explication of our mysteries, and never made use of philosophy but to baffle the errors of the Pagans. Afterwards heresies gave occasion to search into doctrines more narrowly, to fix the terms to be made use of in order to express them, and to draw consequences from articles expressly revealed; but it was only through a kind of necessity that the Fathers entered into that discussion and they were very cautious of forming new questions about our mysteries out of wantonness. As they wrote about doctrines but upon the occasion of heresies, so they wrote no treatises expressly in theology upon the doctrines of religion: but they handled them occasionally when any new heresy appeared. The Holy Scriptures and tradition were the principles which they depended upon, nor did they employ reasoning, but only to discover the sense

of Scripture, and the Fathers. . . . It was not till the eleventh century that they began to teach in public schools the philosophy of Aristotle, according to the method of the Arabians. It was insensibly brought into divinity, and it was produced not only to explain and decide common questions, but also made use of to raise new ones. . . . But as it is difficult 'not to wander when one takes a new road,' several of these authors fell into divers errors, or at least expressed themselves in a manner that was condemned by those who were used to the opinions and ways of speaking of the Fathers. This method likewise raised abundance of controversies and disputes among the divines. Every one, in order to maintain his own opinion, employed whatever was most subtle in the logic and metaphysics of the Aristotelians, which produced an infinite number of questions and disputes, full of so many quirks and turns, that none but such as were conversant in that art understood anything of the matter, and which it was impossible ever to terminate." No words could more aptly characterize the nature

of the changes in the Ordinal of the Roman Church, by the additions made to it from time to time, to give expression to the teaching of the Schoolmen, and the results which followed, in the "quirks and turns" which none but such as were conversant with the metaphysics of the schools could understand, and which it was impossible ever to terminate. Morinus, as we have seen, does not hesitate to declare that the Schoolmen, in making the essence of the sacrament of Ordination to consist in the delivering of the paten and chalice, and the taking part in the offering of the sacred species, were in utter ignorance of what they ought to have known, viz.: that in the Latin Rites before the eleventh century, as well as among the Eastern Churches, Greek, Coptic, and Syrian, from time immemorial, the delivery of the vessels with the words "Receive power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate Masses" was a thing unknown.

Martene went over the ground anew, and came to the conclusion: "Since the matter of Ordination to the Presbyterate cannot possibly be the *traditio instrumentorum*, nor the form,

the solemn words which the Bishop pronounces when he delivers them, we are forced to conclude that the whole essence of the Rite is in the imposition of hands, and in the prayers which follow after, especially the three long prayers which by way of preface are sung, known in the Ancient Pontificals by the name of the *Consecratio*. This alone the Orientals, this alone the ancient Fathers, this alone (Holy) Scripture acknowledge." What, then, becomes of Eugenius IV., and his declaration that the essence of the Rite consists in the delivery of the sacred vessels and taking part in the offering of the sacred species? The Council of Trent, taking warning from the examination given to the subject by the later Schoolmen, did not controvert the position taken by Morinus and Martene, and contented itself with the proviso that the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, at the close of the Rite, is not said in vain by the Bishop. Which is the greater authority—the Council or the Pope? Both, say some: impossible, it is affirmed, by others. At length the happy discovery was made, that the act of Ordination consists of two things, different in

kind, yet making one complex whole. The reputation of Eugenius was saved, by saying that the " Porrectio'instrumentorum " is of *the matter* of the Rite, and the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, with the power to remit sin, *the form*. But what if the Bishop should die between the acts ? Billuart answereth not.

It is to be remembered, as bearing upon the question of intention, that the Prayer Book and Ordinal of 1662 were the act of both Houses of Convocation, and express the mind of the Church of England both in opposition to the rival parliamentary Book of Common Prayer, prepared by the House of Commons Committee of Religion, at the time, and to the attempt afterwards made under William III. to substitute the word " Minister " for " Priest " in the rubric before the Absolution, and to omit the words " remission of sins " as " not very intelligible " !¹

¹ See Joyce's *The Church of as Testified by the Records of England her Own Reformer her Convocations*, pp. 232-244.

VI.

THE REVISED ORDINAL.

THREE things the Church of England sought to accomplish in her revision of the Ordinal. She had it in mind, first of all, to justify the ground she had always taken against the usurped claims of the See of Rome, by re-establishing the hierarchy of order as left by the Apostles. She had, in the second place, to purge the Ordinal from the mediæval accretions which, under the cover of the decree of Eugenius IV., had introduced a new order of Ministry in the place of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. These things accomplished, she had, in opposition to sectaries of every kind, to maintain and preserve, in the third place, the traditions of the Catholic Church. The Prayer Book of 1549 is the product of the first; the Book of 1552 is the witness to the second; the Revision of 1662 is the result of the third.

The reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not a thing of man's devising, but of God's sending. It was a flood in which the old world perished, and a new order of things sprung to life. It was, in Biblical phrase, an end of the world in which the old and the new came together, collided and assimilated. It was a Divine visitation, in which, as in the fall of Jerusalem, Judgment and Salvation went hand in hand together. In Italy, in Germany, in England, in France, in Spain, in the Netherlands, and in the countries of Northern Europe, Church and State alike felt the shock. The Council of Trent was, after a fashion, a Reforming Council. The Jesuit order arose out of the attempt to reconcile the old and the new. In England the travail was great, the conflict prolonged. Church and State in England joined hands together, demanding release from the exorbitant and constantly increasing demands of the Papacy. The State refused any longer to allow its money to go to the support of foreign hirelings. The Church, in Convocation, asked to be freed from an usurpation which could

not, in support of its claim to jurisdiction in England, produce a single Canon of any Ecumenical Council.

To destroy is one thing; to rehabilitate and restore, another. In the preface to the Ordinal, the Church of England says that “ It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there hath been these orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: which Offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man by his own private authority might presume to execute any of them, except he were first of all called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same. And also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued, and reverently used, and esteemed, in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present, Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to

the form hereafter following.” The Church of England in this declaration cut the gordian-knot, by the sword of the Spirit. She appealed from the schoolmen and their subtleties to Holy Scripture and ancient authors as testifying to the Apostolic constitution of the Church: she provided for the perpetuating of the succession, and forbade any man in his “own private authority” to attempt to execute any Office of the Sacred Ministry, without first being duly called to the same.

But it was not enough to re-establish the primitive order and discipline of the Church; there were still left the abuses which had sprung out of the introduction of the “*Porrectio*” into the ritual of Ordination. As early as the Council of Paris, 1212, the saying of Masses, for the living and the dead, had begun to assume the form of a trade. In the fifteenth century, the founding of Chantries where one or more Priests were paid to celebrate, daily, one or more Masses for the founder and his family, became a popular form of religious devotion. Private Masses began to take the place of the one common

Mass: it was held that special Masses were of more avail for the delivering of souls from purgatory than the regular offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice in public worship. It is the rule of the Eastern Church that a Priest cannot repeat the offering in the same Church on the same day; but in the West no sooner did the offering of private Masses become a matter of gain, in the hands of the Chantry Priests, than any number of Masses were said; and no Priest would receive Communion at another Priest's hands. In the Ordinal of 1549, the giving of paten and chalice was retained as a sign of induction into office, but to mark that the Priest was to be a Minister of the Word, as well as of the Sacraments, a Bible was added; in 1552 the "*Porrectio instrumentorum*" was stricken out, as the root from which had sprung the whole of the superstitious growth that had led to the multiplication of altars, and the selling of Masses for purposes of gain. The overlaying of the original Rite of laying on of hands and the invocation of the Holy Ghost, by a mass of ceremonial, which, however much

calculated to attract the masses, had ceased to be either impressive or significant, brought on a reaction in favour of greater simplicity in the inducting of Bishops and Priests into office. It was found, by experience, that the ceremonial adjuncts had not only been the means of keeping out of sight the original significance of the Rite, but had been made a cover for the introducing of novelties of every kind, to the detriment of the faith, and the hurt of true religion. If it served no other purpose, the Ordinal of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. made it clear that the essential element in the Sacrament of Order is the laying on of hands, and the invocation of the Holy Ghost.

Roman Catholic writers, of the ultramontane type, have made the Ordinal of Edward VI. their special object of attack; their reason for so doing is, that it uncovers the weakness of their position, by sweeping out of existence the blind which, under the guise of ceremonial, they have used for introducing their scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation into the making of Priests. It is in vain they attempt to prove that matter and form are

not preserved, in the simple rite of laying on of hands, and the invocation of the Holy Ghost. Driven from their position, by their own most approved theologians, they take refuge in "intention"; and in doing so shuffle and play false with the principle, which it is to the honour of the Roman Church that she has put beyond contradiction, viz., that the validity of the Sacrament does not depend upon the subjective condition of the Minister of the Rite, either in the way of personal holiness, or logical apprehension of that which he is called upon to perform.

Done with the intriguing Jesuitical faction which has never ceased to labour to disturb her peace, the Anglican Church had another enemy to overcome before she was permitted to be at rest to do her appointed work. Two Martyrs, at least, witness to the purity of her "intention" in seeking to maintain the Catholic doctrine of Sacrifice and Priesthood, and the liturgical worship of the Church, as part and parcel of the tradition which from the beginning has been received by the Church of England. The great question of the time was,

whether the old Church of England is to be the Church of the nation, or there is to be a new Church, and a new Prayer Book, to suit the demands of the Puritans. The results of the struggle, to which King and Archbishop gave their lives, are embodied in the Prayer Book of 1662. As the Puritans contended that there is no difference between Priest and Bishop, since their offices were not distinguished at the time of Laying on of Hands, the revisers of the Prayer Book of 1552, in order to set the matter at rest, so far as the intention of the Church of England is concerned, added the words “for the office and work of a Priest,” in the one case, and “for the office and work of a Bishop,” in the other, to the simpler form of 1552. In so doing she went farther than the Roman Church has ever done in declaring her “intention,” and “has killed two birds with one stone”:—she has not only replied to the Puritan quibble, but has also put herself in declaration, against the Roman notion of the Episcopate being only a higher grade of the Priesthood, and not a different Order.

The answer to the plea of lack of intention, then, is the Prayer Book of 1662. The Church of England, in answer to the Puritan attempt to degrade the Episcopate, and to put the Presbyterate in its place, has put herself upon record that she holds to the Apostolic tradition of three Orders of the Ministry, each with its own indelible character, each in its own way perpetuating the three-fold Ministry of our Lord. She has affirmed, moreover, that a Priest is sent not only to be a Minister of the Word, but a *sacerdos*, whose duty it is to offer in behalf of the people, and administer the Sacrament. She required, moreover, that every Minister who, at the time, held any preferment in the Church shall affirm his belief in the Ordinal, by making the following declaration: "I, A. B., do declare my *unfeigned* assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book, entitled 'The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments; and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church,' according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or

Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be said or sung in Churches; and the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

There is no portion of her Liturgical Version of which the Church of England has such good reason to be proud as her Ordinal. It is as far superior to the Roman Pontifical, as it is to the attempt of Baxter to reform the Liturgy after his own fashion. Nowhere do the wisdom and moderation which characterized the Church of her England, in dealing with the opposition she had to encounter, on the right hand and on the left, manifest itself more than in the way she approached the reconstruction of the discordant elements with which she had to deal when she attempted the revision of the Ordinal. It was a work for which Cranmer was peculiarly fitted. Whatever his logical defects when he had to deal with matters of doctrine, his Litany will endure as long as the English tongue is spoken, to attest his appreciation of all that is noblest and best in the devotional literature of the past.

In the year 1541 we find him superintending a revision of the Service-books. In 1542 he gives notice "that all Mass-books, Antiphoners, portiuses (breviaries) in the Church of England should be newly examined, corrected, reformed, . . . and that after ejecting superstitious Orations, Collects, Versicles, etc., their places should be supplied by services made out of the Scriptures and other authentic doctors." The Ordinal of 1550 was in all essential points the same as the Sarum Pontifical. The distinction between what was of the Essence of the Rite, and the Ceremonies which in the growth of centuries had been allowed to accumulate around the Rite, was carefully observed throughout.

Among the ceremonies dispensed with was the anointing of the hands of Priest and Bishop—a ceremony which had crept into the Roman Rite from the Celtic Church, by way of Gaul, after the ninth century; the ceremonies of the Ring and Mitre in the consecration, of still later introduction, were likewise set aside. The truth is that ceremonial had become so burdensome that it had ceased to be

significant. It was regarded not as an accessory, but as necessary to valid Ordination; and the time had arrived when it was desirable to make plain what is of the Essence of the Rite of Ordination, and what is not.

But more important still was the casting out of the things which had been introduced with mischievous intent and were used to symbolize false doctrine. The presentation of the vessels, as a sign of induction, was allowed in the Prayer Book of 1549, but afterwards removed for the reason that it symbolized that half truth, which the mediæval Church had made everything; and had therefore come to be regarded as essential. "The priest's lips should keep knowledge" (Mal. ii. 7). The celebration of the Holy Mysteries is one part of the priestly calling, not the whole. We know as a matter of fact how hard it is to strike the balance between the devotional and ceremonial part of religion, and the building of the people up in the duties of their high calling.

And it was not only the striking out of the "Porrectio" that was necessary, but the removal also of the adjuncts which had gathered

around it and made it appear to be of the very "Essence of the Rite of Ordination." The second Imposition of Hands in the Roman Ordinal must mean either that the first was not sufficient; or it was intended to degrade the Apostolic Rite and make it serve their purpose of an introduction to something more vital than itself, without which it was to be regarded as of little or no account. Hence Maskell, in speaking of the insuperable difficulties which had baffled the efforts of the Council of Trent to bring order out of disorder, says, in speaking of the revisers of the Anglican Ordinal, "it was still more wise and accordant with all ancient precedent both of opinion and practice, by uniting the two Forms, and restoring the one imposition of hands, to remove all doubts and difficulties on the subject" (*Mon. Rit. Celebratio Ordinum*, vol. iii, p. 221, n.).

It may then be confidently affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that the Ordinal of 1662 is in every way superior, both as to matter and form, to the modern Roman Rite. It has reduced to unity that which for centuries

had been a mere *disjecta membra*, without connection of parts: it has provided for the necessary ceremonial adjuncts to give significance to the Rite; it has taken out of the way all possible objection to the form of the Rite by discriminating between Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the receiving of the Grace of Ordination. It is in this respect more perfect than the Roman Ordinal itself. When to these things we add the declaration under which it was set forth, it will be seen how futile the attempt is to invalidate English Orders on the ground of intention: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that no person whatsoever shall henceforth be capable to be admitted to any parsonage, vicarage, benefice, or other ecclesiastical promotion or dignity whatsoever, nor shall presume to consecrate and administer the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper before such time as he shall be ordained priest according to the form and manner in and by the said book prescribed, unless he have formerly been made priest by Episcopal Ordination" (*Act of Uniformity*, 14 Charles II., cap. 4, A.D. 1662).

VII.

L'ENVOI.

THE tone and temper of the Italian Mission in England have undergone little or no change within the last thirteen hundred years. When Augustine, at the instance of Gregory the Great, entered on his work he found himself at variance with the remnant of the British Church that had survived the inroad of the Angles and Saxons, in some unimportant matters of ceremonial observance. The Roman Monks differed from the British in the way of cutting the hair. The Roman tonsure was in the form of a circle, around which was left a fringe of hair, more or less wide, mystically regarded as symbolizing the Saviour's crown. The Celtic tonsure was in the form of a half moon extending from ear to ear, with the back of the head unshorn. The Roman party, with a view to put the stamp of op-

probrium on the native Rite, declared it to be the invention of the Arch-heretic, Simon Magus; while others, to show their contempt for the national Church, attributed its origin to the swineherd of King Logharie.

Another point of difference was the time for keeping of the Easter festival. Prior to the Council of Nicæa the two Churches were in the habit of celebrating Easter at the same time, the most ancient Roman table being in accord with that of the British Church. The British Church during the time of its separation, through the irruption of the barbarians, held on to its old eighty-four-year cycle, while the Roman Church adopted an improved form of intercalation, not on theological but on astronomical grounds.

There were other differences, both in the mode of administering baptism, and the practice of single ordination, but with the exception of the latter the diversities were few, and not of a serious kind. They would have been arranged probably but for an unfortunate occurrence which took place some time after the starting of the Mission. Held in doubt as to

what was best under the circumstances to do, the British Bishops took the advice of a wise and holy man. He advised them to be guided by circumstances when they met with Augustine according to appointment. If he rose to meet them when they approached they were to enter into conference; if he refused to do so, they were to withhold their confidence. It was a simple test, yet it implied a good deal. The British Bishops were to be ready to surrender things of minor importance, but when it came to assumption of authority, they were to be on their guard. It is a story with a moral to it, and I propose to devote this concluding chapter to its illustration.

One of the earliest controversies in the Christian Church was about this very matter of the keeping of Easter. The Jewish converts to the faith were accustomed to join together in one their celebration of the Jewish and the Christian Passover. It was in some respects a good thing, for it kept alive the notion of the organic unity of the old and the new dispensations. But there were disadvantages which, from another point of view as

time went on, came to light, and more than counterbalanced the advantages. What if the day for the keeping of the Jewish Passover, the 14th of Nisan, fell upon a Friday? The Gentile Churches, not bound by Jewish tradition, solved the difficulty by keeping the feast, not on the day of the new moon, but on the Sunday after. It was the better day, for it brought to light the fact, that our Lord was the beginning of a new dispensation, as well as the fulfilment and completion of the old.

When Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna and disciple of S. John, went to Rome, the difference of observance, between the Jewish and Gentile Churches, became a practical question. Shall Polycarp be compelled to do as Rome does? Or shall religion stoop to acknowledge the courtesy due to a stranger and respect his wishes? Anicetus, who was Bishop of Rome at the time, placed at the disposal of the Bishop of Smyrna a Church where he might celebrate the feast at his own time, and in his own way. It was a courteous act, and it affords positive proof that diversity of Rites and Ceremonies was not only tolerated at

the time in Rome, but was regarded as part of the Church's Catholic heritage.

Forty years after, things came to an issue between Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, and Victor of Rome. Victor, with a view of securing uniformity, sent out a request to the Churches asking them to meet together in Council, and take action on the Paschal question. The Bishop of Ephesus, in replying for the Churches of Asia Minor, stood upon the Apostolic traditions of his See, and the practice of S. John, and gave Victor to understand that he was prepared to defend his position, and would not suffer dictation from the Roman See. Victor did not heed the warning of the venerable Bishop of Ephesus, and took upon himself to excommunicate the Churches of Asia Minor, and all who were in sympathy with them in their keeping of the Easter feast. His action was not sustained by the Episcopate at large; it did not please all the Bishops, Eusebius tells us (book V, xxiii-xxv). Irænaeus, who had been brought up in Asia Minor, and followed in Gaul the Western custom, wrote to Victor and "fittingly admonished

him that he had no right to cut off whole Churches of God which observed the traditions of an ancient custom." Gaul, under the leader of Irenæus, joined Asia Minor in rebuking the arrogant spirit of Victor of Rome, and the Churches of Asia Minor went on following their own customs for eighty years and more, notwithstanding the excommunication. The Roman See, through its hasty and violent action, found itself virtually excommunicated by the Church throughout the world. The first Papal decretal failed of its mark, and it was left to the Council of Nicæa—the first Ecumenical Council—to adjust, in a conciliar way, the difficulty which the Decretal of Victor only made worse. The significance of all this will appear later on when I come to deal with the False Decretals. It will then be seen that the Roman See has not only put another Ministry in the place of the Ministry instituted by the Apostles, but has also used illegitimate means to force its "decretal system of law," and substitute it for "the conciliar law" of the Church, acting through its ecumenical and provincial Councils.

The Church of North Africa held a position very similar to the Church of Asia Minor in the post-Apostolic age. It fought for the unity of the Church in opposition to schism as Asia Minor had contended for the Faith against heresy. It was ever ready to acknowledge the honorary primacy of the Roman See, but refused to recognize its claims to supremacy—happily for the Church, for had it done so the battle of Pelagianism would have been fought in vain.

The African Church, in the year 416, in synods held at Carthage and Mileve, condemned Pelagius and Cælestius as heretics. They sent notice of their condemnation to Innocent I. who excommunicated them also. Zosimus, after succeeding Innocent in 417, opened up the case anew, called a synod at Rome and restored both Pelagius and Cælestius to communion, summoned Paulinus to appear at Rome, and excommunicated Heros and Lazarus, Bishops of Gaul, who had taken part in accusing the heretics. Thereupon, after some correspondence with Zosimus, a Council of two hundred Bishops met at Carthage, which

not only in the most unmistakable terms condemned Pelagianism as a heresy, but forbade appeals to Rome, on pain of excommunication. It was declared to be a violation of all established law, that a Roman Council, under the dictation of the Pope, should undo the action of another provincial Council, approved and confirmed by his own predecessor. Paulinus, when called upon to appear at Rome, had refused to do so; the Council of Carthage now takes the further step of forbidding appeals to Rome altogether. Zosimus, like Victor, found he had made a bad mistake. He roused up Augustine, as Victor had Irenæus to deal with. He crept out of the position he had put himself in, by writing a high-flown letter on the claims of the Roman See, declaring his readiness to consult his brethren, though of course the chair of Peter did not need any one to help it in determining what it ought to do! The Emperor Honorius now appeared upon the scene, and issued a rescript from Ravenna (418) condemning the new heretics. Thereupon Zosimus faced about, joined in the excommunication of Pelagius and

Cælestius, and required all Bishops to subscribe to his circular letter on the subject.

The relations between Rome and North Africa are illustrated by another case of a different kind, in which the Roman See falls into the snare in which pride and arrogance are sure to be caught, when they refuse to make confession of their fault, and are determined, at all hazards, to maintain an unjust case. What cannot be done by fair means must be done by foul. A Priest of Mauritania, who had been excommunicated by Urbanus of Sicca, appealed to Zosimus for restoration. Zosimus ordered Apiarius to be restored, but Bishop Urbanus paid no heed to the command. Zosimus thereupon sent Faustinus, Bishop of Potentia, with two presbyters, charged with a *commonitorium* in his name. They appeared at a Council called to receive their communication. They were ordered to produce their credentials. When Faustinus the legate read the *commonitorium*, in which was inserted a Canon, quoted as one of the Canons of Nicæa, by which a Bishop, deposed by a provincial Council,

was allowed to appeal to Rome, Alypius, who, it will be remembered, was a life-long friend of S. Augustine, was present at the Council, as Bishop of Tagaste. When the Canon quoted as a Canon of Nicæa had been read, Alypius interrupted the Roman legate, saying, "We do not find these words in the Greek copies of the Canons of Nicæa." After some discussion the Council was adjourned, until opportunity should be given to obtain certified copies of the Canons of the Great Council. It was found, upon examination, that the Canon quoted as a Canon of the Council of Nicæa was a Canon, not of the Great Ecumenical Council, but a Canon of the Council of Sardica, in which Roman influence had predominated. The case was opened up anew. Apiarius made confession of his wrong-doing. He was dismissed from his See, and the African Church wrote to Celestine I. (the successor of Zosimus), begging that, in future, he would not lend an ear to persons who came from Africa. "The receiving of appeals," they declared, "was an attack upon the rights of the African Church. What was alleged in its favour as a

Nicene Canon could not be found in the genuine Acts of Nicæa, which had been obtained from Constantinople and Alexandria" (Hefele, vol. iii, p. 480).

It would seem to be beyond the bounds of credibility that, after such an exposure, the Roman See would ever attempt again to ground its claims to supremacy by tampering with the Canons of the Council of Nicæa. Notwithstanding, when the question of supremacy came up anew, at the Council of Constantinople, the very same claims were made, and the proof of forgery was even more fatal to the justice of the claim than in North Africa. This time the contest was between Leo the Great, represented by his delegates, and the See of Constantinople, "the New Rome," now rising into power. When the Imperial Commissioners who presided at the Council, called upon the opposing parties to produce the Canons on which they based their claims, the Roman delegate Paschasinus produced the 6th Canon of the 318 holy fathers on the side of Rome, quoting the words, "Quod Eccle-

sia Romana semper habuit primatium," etc. Ætius, the Archdeacon of Constantinople, who defended the action of the Council in conferring new powers of jurisdiction on the Imperial City, handed a codex to one of the secretaries, and asked for the authentic Greek words of the Canon, cited by Paschasinus, to be read aloud. No Greek word corresponding to *primatium* (primacy) could be found in the Greek text. On the contrary, according to the "ancient customs," it was found that Rome was placed on an equal footing with Antioch and Alexandria. It has been urged, in behalf of Zosimus, that he may himself have been deceived in quoting the Sardican Canon on appeals as a Canon of the Council of Nicæa, for the reason that the Sardican Canons were found, as an appendage to the Canons of Nicæa, at Rome; and it was the habit of the Romans to regard the one as of equal authority with the other. It is a poor excuse for a See claiming infallibility. But whatever apology may be pleaded in behalf of Zosimus, there is no excuse to be offered for tampering with the Canons of Nicæa and the

placing of the word *primatium* in a Canon where the Roman See is made to hold the same rank as the Sees of Antioch and Alexandria. The very Canon on which Leo, following "the custom of the Roman Church," rested his cause (even if it had not been tampered with by introducing a word which has nothing to correspond to it in the original), would not have helped to establish the Roman claim, for it declares that the privileges of the three great patriarchal Sees, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, were accorded to them by "the ancient customs"; not based, as alleged, on Divine right.

Not able to force the ancient law of the Church into a recognition of the absolute supremacy of "Peter's Chair," the next thing to be done was to make a new form of law, which shall take the place of the old "conciliar law" of the Church; and so establish the claim to plenitude of power which cannot, without the charge of fraud, find recognition in the Canon law of the Nicene age. How shall it be brought about? Who can be found to make the attempt?

Many literary forgeries have been attempted to impose upon the credulity of mankind, but it may without exaggeration be affirmed that never has been a forgery committed so wonderful in its character, so far-reaching and mighty in its results, as that which made its appearance in the middle of the ninth century, known as "the False Decretals." It was, from first to last, a stupendous fraud. It emanated from the school of Boniface of Mentz, and was put forth with a view of justifying the pretensions of the Roman See from the time of Zosimus to Nicholas I. So artfully was the forgery done that the Popes of the time were themselves betrayed into a belief of the alleged Decretals. The wish was father to the thought; they greedily swallowed the bait, and began to act upon the newly discovered letters of Popes, extending in regular succession from Siricius up to S. Clement, the immediate successor of S. Peter in the Roman See. Victor I., in the close of the second century, writes a letter to Theophilus of Alexandria, in the beginning of the fifth century. The early Bishops of Rome quote the Revised

Version of S. Jerome with the greatest familiarity. Anacletus, named as second in the order of Roman Bishops, assures us that "this sacrosanct and Apostolic Roman Church did not obtain its primacy, or acquire its eminence of power, over all Churches, and the whole flock of the Christian people, from the Apostles, but from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." And "this Apostolic See has been made the hinge and head of all Churches by the Lord Himself, and no other; and as a door is guided by the hinge, so, through the Lord's institution, all Churches are guided by the authority of the Holy See." Anacletus, in his elaborate attempt at symbolism, does not think it worth while to tell us who invented the "hinge." Gratian, in the twelfth century, embodied these forged Decretals in his *Concordantia Discordantia Canonum*, and they became part and parcel of the Ecclesiastical Law to which the Popes are chiefly indebted for the authority they exercised in the thirteenth and following centuries. The genuineness of the False Decretals was taken for granted, their principles were carried out sys-

tematically; and so Decretal law, based upon the Decrees of the Popes, was made to take the place of the old Canonical system. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that the fraud was exposed by the Magdeburg Centuriators. Blondell, in the seventeenth century, the two Ballerini, in the eighteenth century, succeeded in securing universal acknowledgment to the spuriousness of the Decretals before the time of Siricius. But Gratian had done his work; the Decretal system took the place of the old Conciliar system. As the Schoolmen had succeeded in substituting a new order of Ministry, Priest, Deacon, and Sub-deacon, for the three Orders instituted by the Apostles, so the school of Canon Law, founded at Bologna by Gratian, substituted the Decretal system which made the Pope a law unto himself for the system of Canon Law based upon the acts of the Ecumenical Councils, and the practice of the Universal Church in its Provincial and Diocesan synods.

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